

The Middle Temple

and

Sir Walter Raleigh.

Box 3

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The Middle Temple and Sir Walter Raleigh.

A dinner to commemorate the Tercentenary of Sir Walter Raleigh, the illustrious member of the Middle Temple, was given by the Treasurer and Masters of the Bench in the Middle Temple Hall on October 28th, 1918. The following Masters of the Bench, members, and guests were present:—

THE TREASURER, MASTER MCCALL.
MASTER RT. HON. VISCOUNT MERSEY.
MASTER DIGBY.
MASTER E. T. ATKINSON.
MASTER RT. HON. LORD PARMOOR.
MASTER MUIR MACKENZIE.
MASTER RT. HON. SIR JOHN EDGE.
MASTER C. C. SCOTT.

MASTER SIR FORREST FULTON.
MASTER BLAKE ODGERS.
MASTER SIR ROBERT WALLACE.
MASTER BROGDEN.
MASTER JUDGE RUEGG.
MASTER MACMORRAN.
MASTER TERRELL.
MASTER LINDSAY.
MASTER ASPINALL.
MASTER CLAY.
MASTER HAMILTON.
MASTER HON. MR. JUSTICE HORRIDGE.
MASTER MUIR.
MASTER STEWART SMITH.
MASTER JUDGE TOBIN.
MASTER WAUGH.
MASTER CLAVELL SALTER.
MASTER DE COLYAR.
MASTER FORBES LANKESTER.
MASTER VACHELL.
MASTER DE GRUYTHER.
MASTER LORD SHAW.

MEMBERS.

BAGGOTT, W. H.
BRIDGMAN, G. F. L.
BROWN, HIS HONOUR JUDGE REGINALD.

BROXHOLME, F. A.
BUCHAN, LT.-COL. J.
BUTLER, SLADE.
CRANE, R. NEWTON.
CRANSTOUN, J.
CUNLIFFE, J. H.
DAY, S. H.
FINLAY, HON. W., K.C.
FISHER, J. R.
FITZGERALD, F.
GAULT, J.
GRAHAM, HIS HONOUR JUDGE.
GRAZEBROOK, H. D.
GRIFFITHS, SIR ELLIS J.
HART, H. L., K.C.
HURST, C. J. B., K.C., C.B.
JACKSON, F. S.
LECK, D. C., K.C.
LEE, D. CAMPBELL.
LEWIS, SIR W. L.
LEYCESTER, W. H.
LITHIBY, SIR J., C.B.
MACASSEY, SIR L.
MACDONNELL, SIR J.
DE MONTMORENCY, J. E. G.
NALDRETT, E. J.
PARRY, E. A.

PHILLIPS, F. C.
PIGGOTT, SIR F. T.
POPE, S.
POWELL, H.
PYMAR, E. B.
RAFFETY, F. W.
REDMAN, J. H.
ROBERTS, HIS HONOUR JUDGE.
SCULLY, HIS HONOUR JUDGE.
SHERWOOD, F. W.
SMITH, W. R.
SPOKES, A. H.
STEPHENS, J. E. R.
STRAHAN, J. A.
SWINBURNE, HANHAM, J. C.
SYMMONS, J. A.
TAMPLIN, COL. H. T.
TOMLIN, T. J. C.
TURNER, R. W.
WILD, SIR E. E., K.C.
WOODCOCK, H. D.

GUESTS.

BARNES, REV. DR.
BEDWELL, C. E. A.
BOX, E. A., J.P.
BROWNE, RT. REV. G. F.

BRYCE, LORD.
CARNEGIE, REV. CANON.
CHAMPERNOWNE, MAJOR P. H.
CLEAVE, J. K. F.
ELLISON, H. K.
GOLLANCZ, I.
GOSSE, E., C.B.
LEE, SIR SIDNEY.
MACAFEE, J. B.
MACSWINNEY, R. F.
MCGRANN, COMMANDER W. H.
OMAN, C. W. C.
RANDOLPH, LT. R. D., U.S.N.
RIDLEY, SIR E.
RYND, REV. R. F.
SMITH, MAJOR R. STUART.
TEINING, CAPT. H. C.
WHITE, MAJOR J. B.
WILE, F. W.
WRIGHT, LT.-COMMANDER R. K., U.S.N.

After dinner the Master Treasurer proposed the three usual toasts: "The King," "Domus," and "Absent Members."

THE MASTER TREASURER: Master Junior, I invite you and all to be upstanding and to drink in solemn silence

to the memory of the illustrious Member of this House,
Sir Walter Raleigh.

The toast was duly honoured.

THE MASTER TREASURER: I have now great pleasure
in calling upon the Master of the Temple, the Rev. Dr.
Barnes, to deliver his address.

THE MASTER OF THE TEMPLE: Master Treasurer,
Masters of the Bench, my lords and gentlemen,—

We are met to-night to do honour to Sir Walter
Raleigh. It has been suggested that I might fitly put
before you, not a sketch of his life, but a picture to
show the connection of this honourable Society with the
enterprises in which he took part and with the times
in which he lived. The man himself, his character,
his ambitions, his achievements, his fall—all in the
present Tercentenary celebrations are naturally dis-
played by historians and statesmen who can speak with
greater authority and insight than I could pretend to
possess. Moreover, your own gathering here is essen-
tially domestic. You are met to express your pride in
one who, in the spacious times of Queen Elizabeth, be-
longed to this Inn of Court. And, as you reflect upon
what he was and what he did, you would think of the

links which bind him to yourselves, and in reverie conjure up a vision of the past glories of these precincts. Fortunately, we have material which fifteen years ago was inaccessible. In 1904 you printed your Minutes of Parliament. They go back to the year 1501, and though they are defective as regards the years 1525—1551, they give a concise though sometimes tantalisingly allusive record of the acts of the Bench during the whole of Elizabeth's reign. After the Minutes of Parliament for February 9th, 1575, there appears a list of admissions which took place before the succeeding Parliament. Your Treasurer has ordered that the volume shall be open to your inspection to-night. Under the date February 27th appears the entry: "*Walter Rawley, late of Lyons Inne, gent., son of Walter Rawley, of Budleighe, Devon, Esq., generally; fine 20s.*" The admission of Raleigh was thus a general and not a special admission, and of course the fine was the entrance fee deemed suitable to his status. Raleigh was at the time about twenty-three years old. He had apparently left Oriel College, Oxford, some five years previously, and in the interval had served with the Huguenot forces in France. He probably joined the Middle Temple, not to study law, but to enjoy the social advantages which membership of your Society then gave. This is borne out by a singularly emphatic statement made at his trial twenty-eight years later. "If I ever read a word

of the law and statutes before I was a prisoner in the Tower, God confound me." Raleigh, when he put his name upon your books, was a youth of good family and moderate means, eager to make friends by whose aid Fortune's favours might be won. The pamphleteers of Elizabeth's day constantly speak of a Templar—as Ouida in her novels of a generation ago spoke of a guardsman—as a typical member of the *jeunesse dorée* of the period.

What was the size of your Society at the time? Curiously accurate information is contained in a return now at the Public Record Office which has been printed in the Inner Temple Records. From it we learn that in 1574 your Society consisted of 11 Benchers, 40 utter barristers, and 139 other members. In your buildings at the time there were 92 sets of chambers. Practically all of these have now vanished. In fact, in consequence of the Great Fire which destroyed practically all the buildings of the Inner Temple, and of a subsequent fire of 1679 which destroyed your own property, no buildings of Raleigh's time are now standing except the Temple Church and this magnificent Hall. This Hall has a curiously intimate connection with Raleigh. It was apparently completed a year after his admission, for at that time a minute in your records arranges for the conversion of the "upper part of the old Hall" into

chambers. In 1571, four years before his admission, there was an order exacting compulsory loans on a graduated scale from all members of the Society to provide money for the new buildings; at the same time the "old pensions" were increased for three years for the same purpose, and the increase was renewed for six terms in 1574. At the very Parliament before Raleigh was admitted, contributions were levied for your beautiful Screen, and towards it Raleigh doubtless paid 6s. 8d., each Master of the Bench paying 20s. In this Hall, Raleigh, as a student, must have dined. Doubtless he often came here in the days of his greatness to your feasts.

We may legitimately assume that as a student Raleigh had to obey the regulations by which your predecessors tried to discipline the young men in their charge. He would seem to have duly attended the Reader's lectures, as I can discover no record of his having been fined for absence. Without doubt he was compelled to go to Church—in which connection it is stimulating to learn that "out of Term the ordinary service in the Church shall not begin before seven in the morning, and in term time not till half-past six." That regulation was passed in 1582, when it was also decreed that "a butler of every House shall be appointed to keep the Choir door, that no woman come into the Choir; and

they are to endeavour to keep out of the Choir strangers, except noblemen and knights." I fancy that Raleigh was forced to listen to Latin sermons, for three-and-a-half years before his admission a levy ranging from 1s. to 8d. per head per term was made for the wages of "one chosen by the Masters of the Bench to preach in Latin thrice a week in the Temple Church." I regret to add that out of the levy £5 only was paid to the preacher; your Treasurer took the rest.

What sumptuary laws characteristic of his time did Raleigh try to evade? Nine years after his admission, "articles for the reformation of apparel" were agreed on by the Masters of the Bench. "That no great ruffs be worn." "That no gentlemen shall walk the streets in cloaks but in gowns." "That no hat nor long nor curled hair be worn," and so forth. Raleigh would habitually have carried both a sword and a dagger, weapons which were sometimes drawn when disputes arose at the lower tables in the Hall. Such offences met with fines and severe threats, but I must confess that a study of your records leads to the conclusion that the bark of your predecessors was worse than their bite.

Almost exactly ten years after Raleigh's admission the great Hooker became Master of the Temple. I imagine that Raleigh, like most other members of the

Society, was too Puritan in sympathy to appreciate the greatness of the "judicious Divine." A hint of this appears in a dry minute of 1586 by which the Puritan Reader, Travers, is "to receive his pension and to remain in his lodging *within the parsonage of the Temple* till further notice." In Isaac Walton's life of Hooker there is a letter from Lord Burleigh in which he admits that "a number of honest gentlemen of the Temple" had pressed that Travers should be appointed Master. The influence of Archbishop Sandys, whose brother was shortly afterwards (1588) appointed your Treasurer, secured Hooker's appointment, with the pleasing result that "the forenoon sermon spake Canterbury, and the afternoon Geneva." From Hooker, with his pre-eminent place in English theological writing, one passes naturally to think of those others who in Raleigh's day gave to us the masterpieces of our literature. The great dramatist Marlowe was one of Raleigh's intimates. Of Spenser he became a close friend: the two men saw much of one another in Ireland, where each received estates in 1586, and Raleigh wrote an eulogistic sonnet to commend the "Faerie Queene." It is almost certain that Raleigh, with his wide range of interests, must have known Shakespeare, who, a dozen years his junior, died two years before him. One would like to think that when at Candlemas in 1602 "Twelfth Night" was performed in this Hall, Raleigh was present. We

know that he spoke in Parliament two-and-a-half months earlier, and there seemed to be no facts that would render baseless such a fabric of our vision. That if in London he would have been invited is almost certain.

It was a great age when such men trod the streets of London. As we sit in the Hall we can in fancy reconstruct it. At Whitehall was the Court, moving to Greenwich or Richmond for change of air. To the west of these precincts were the palaces of the great nobles of the day, Essex House, Arundel House, and the like, with gardens stretching to the river. And among them, just off the Strand, stood Durham House, where for twenty happy years Raleigh lived in state, by the Queen's favour ousting the Bishop of Durham from his London residence. To the east of the Temple precincts lay Alsatia—a source of constant anxiety to your predecessors: Alsatia, with its dangerous privileges and lawless squalor, brilliantly described by Scott in "The Fortunes of Nigel." In its slums the bubonic plague was endemic, and more than once during Raleigh's lifetime your records describe how an outbreak of the pestilence suspended the normal activities of your Society. Vast have been the changes wrought by time. Yet men change less than their surroundings. I cannot forbear, Master Treasurer, to give one instance of continuity

which you especially will enjoy. In connection with Raleigh's activities in Ireland—need I say to this Assembly that he is supposed to have planted the first potato in that turbulent land?—I sought for some allusion in the domestic drama of London to the English view of the Irish people. I found it. The poetry is poor, but the sentiment is modern:—

“ The land gives good increase
Of every blessing for the use of man,
And 'tis great pity the inhabitants
Will not be civil and live under law.”

One could almost indefinitely extend the number and nature of these domestic details of the past. But I should weary you by them, and if you will permit me I will now turn to two topics of wider interest. Why did Raleigh join this Society rather than some other Inn of Court? The reason seems to be that he belonged to a group of Devonshire families with whom it had become a tradition to send their sons here. Raleigh was, of course, half-brother of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and a kinsman of Sir Francis Drake. Now, Gilbert's younger brother Adrian belonged to your Society; so did Philip Amadas, from Plymouth, who was one of the two commanders of the first expedition to colonise Virginia in 1584, and apparently so also did the great Drake him-

self. The latter returned in 1586 from his victorious expedition to the West Indies. He then brought back the first disheartened colonists from Virginia,* together with the first potatoes and tobacco which reached this country. He arrived at Portsmouth on July 28th. Under the date August 4th, exactly seven days later, we find in your Parliament Minutes the following entry, as Mr. Martin translates it from the Latin: "Francis Drake, knt., one of the Society of the Middle Temple, after his voyage came into the Middle Temple Hall at dinner-time and acknowledged to John Savile, Esq., then Reader, . . . and others present, his old friendship with the Society, those present congratulating him on his happy return with great joy."† I cannot forbear

* Virginia is throughout used in its Elizabethan and not in its modern meaning. Of old it included several adjacent States of the present American Commonwealth.

† The Treasurer of the Inner Temple, naturally and rightly desirous that the great traditions of his Society should not be forgotten, challenged these words and claimed Drake for his own Inn. While all that I said is, I believe, strictly accurate, I was ignorant of Drake's connection with the Inner Temple, and so failed to emphasise the evenly-balanced regard which I feel for the two Societies of the Temple. There is no doubt that the Inner Temple offered Drake the honour of membership after his return from circumnavigating the globe. As we read in the "Calendar of Inner Temple Records" (Vol. I, p. 318), he was on January 28th, 1582, admitted to the Society of the Inner Temple "upon a

to mention that almost exactly two years later the decisive action was fought which led to the destruction of the Spanish Armada. The record of Drake's admission here was possibly contained in a lost Minute Book: the entry, happily preserved, which I have read shows

fine at the discretion of the Treasurer." Mr. Inderwick, in his Introduction to the "Records," says: "Whether Drake ever took up his admission the records do not show. A similar honour is said to have been paid him by the Middle Inn" (ib. p. lxxxviii.). Mr. Inderwick's Introduction is dated 1896, eight years before the publication of the Middle Temple Records: consequently when he wrote it was doubtful whether Drake belonged also to the sister Society. In the original Latin of the Middle Temple entry which I quoted Drake is described as "*unus de consortio Medii Templi*." Mr. Martin's translation of the phrase appears accurately to represent its only possible meaning. Mr. Bedwell, commenting on the passage, says ("The Middle Temple," p. 38): "From the wording of the entry it would appear that Drake's visit to the Hall was not by special invitation, and the presumption is supported by the absence of the Treasurer. He seems to have called casually. . . . The wording of the entry also supports the tradition that Drake had been admitted a member in earlier years, though it is not possible to trace the exact date. Perhaps the admission was entered in the volume of the records which is missing for the years 1524 to 1551." It must be acknowledged that Mr. Bedwell's concluding suggestion is unlikely. Drake was born about the year 1539 and would not have been more than thirteen years of age when the lost volume was completed.

E. W. B.

your intimate connection with the great seamen-adventurers of Elizabeth's reign; and there are other scattered hints which make it clear that the Devon families from which these seamen sprang cherished a warm affection for this Society, which in turn was proud of their fame and success. The geographical discovery of the time naturally had its history, and in 1589 Richard Hakluyt published his "Principal Navigations"—the book which Froude called "the prose epic of the modern English nation." In the preface to that book we learn that some twenty years earlier the author, then a boy at Westminster School, had visited a cousin of the same name who was a member of, and had chambers in, the Middle Temple. He found there "books of cosmography with a universal map"; he "had discourse" with his cousin, and he thereupon resolved to write the great record of exploration for which he is famous.

And this leads me to my final topic. It would be foolish to pretend that our present celebrations of Raleigh are unconnected with the honour which we would pay to the great Commonwealth of America. Raleigh tried to found a new England beyond the seas. He spent his wealth lavishly for that purpose. To him, more than to any other single man, was due the impetus that led England's sons to found the colonies from which the American Commonwealth has sprung.

Raleigh was the first to perceive with sagacious foresight how England could become the mother of British Dominions and English-speaking States in other lands. Naturally and rightly, representatives of such Dominions and of the great Commonwealth of America are honoured guests to-night. But perhaps neither they nor some others here know the extent to which early colonising projects, whose outcome has been of such vast importance to the modern world, were fostered by members of this honourable Society. It is impossible to show this in detail to-night, and fortunately unnecessary, for your distinguished librarian, Mr. Bedwell, in his "Brief History of the Middle Temple," has set out the facts. Raleigh, the pioneer of all such enterprise, was one of yourselves. The Virginian expedition of 1590 was equipped by (Sir) John Wattes, whom your predecessors subsequently made an honorary member of the Inn. Raleigh's expedition of 1602 was commanded by Bartholomew Gosnold, a member of your Society. One of the leaders of the expedition of 1606, which established the settlement of Jamestown, was Lord George Percy, also of this Society. When Lord Delaware went to Virginia in 1610, William Crashaw, father of the poet, was Reader of the Temple Church and preached a farewell sermon. Half a dozen of the most prominent early members of the Virginia Company belonged to your Society. In Mr. Bedwell's carefully

chosen words, "the Society of the Middle Temple took a leading part in the birth of the American nation."

As we reflect upon the growth of that nation from its earliest beginnings to its present greatness, we would forget the follies of statesmen which destroyed the old-time unity of America and Britain. We would rather remember how in "Esmond" and "The Virginians" a great Victorian novelist, who was a member of the Middle Temple, evoked a generous sympathy for the colonies which England founded and lost; how another Middle Templar, Edmund Burke, pleaded their rights in some of the noblest orations in our language; and we are confident that one of the happiest results of the present years of struggle and sorrow will be a lasting friendship between the English-speaking peoples of the world.

Well, my lords and gentlemen, these discursive notes must come to an end. I have, as it were, plunged somewhat roughly into the rich storehouse of your past and taken out a handful of memories not unworthy of your regard and pride. Some, it is true, are but loosely connected with the great man whose death in Palace Yard exactly three centuries ago is the occasion of this gathering. But perhaps, in recalling glimpses of life here in his time, you may better understand the man himself.

He was one of those forceful and dominating men who arouse fierce opposition and at the same time win unstinted admiration : thus one modern writer can describe him as being in 1599 the best-hated man of his time, and another can couple him with Sir Philip Sidney as a typical Elizabethan knight. He was proud ; but he was not unworthy to be one of the leaders of a people who were rightly proud of their great achievements. He was reckless ; but the reckless bravery of the Elizabethans won for them the freedom of the seas. Whatever his faults, he did not deserve his fate. To-night we remember his ability, his courage, his enterprise, his liberal temper, and his love of England. As we honour him, we honour the age which gave him birth, and the colonising projects on which he spent his wealth. Especially do we rejoice that his dream of a New England in the New World came true, and that in our time the New World has been called in by Providence to redress the balance of the Old.

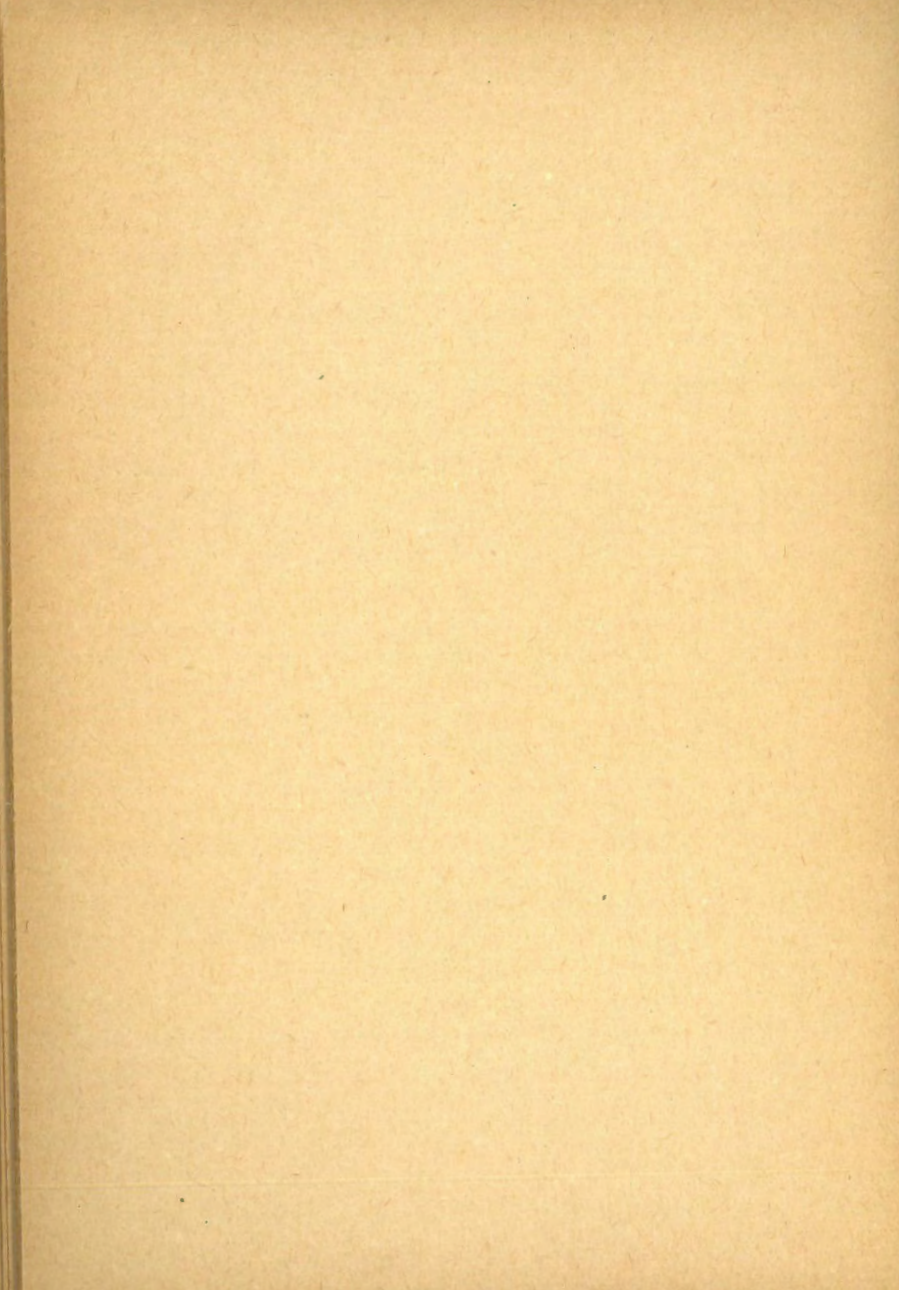
SIR WALTER RAULEIGH

his lamentation :

NOTE

SIR WALTER RALEIGH was beheaded in Palace Yard on 29 October, 1618. According to John Aubrey the time of his execution "was contrived to be on my Lord-Mayor's day . . . that the pageants and fine shows might avocate and draw away the people from beholding the Tragedie of the gallantest Worthie that England ever bred." This ballad was probably sold on the day of the execution. Little is known of its publisher. According to Dr. Arber, Philip Birch was trading between 1619 and 1623, but during those years ballads were not usually entered in the registers of the Stationers' Company, and this is not mentioned there. The original is in the possession of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and it is to be reproduced in facsimile for the Committee of the Raleigh Celebration by the kind permission of the Master and Fellows. It is amongst the ballads which Samuel Pepys bequeathed to the College, and was probably once in the possession of John Selden, who began the formation of the Collection which Pepys improved and continued.

C. H. FIRTH.



SIR WALTER RAULEIGH
his lamentation :

Who was beheaded in the old Pallace
at Westminster the 29 of
October, 1618.

To the tune of *Welladay*.

COURTEOUS kind Gallants all,
pittie me, pittie me,
My time is now but small,
here to continue :
Thousands of people stay,
To see my dying day,
Sing I then welladay
wofully mourning.

Once in a gallant sort
lived I, lived I,
Belov'd in Englands court
graced with honours:
Sir Walter Rauleighs name
Had then a noble fame:
Though turned now to shame
through my misdoing.

In youth I was too free
of my will, of my will,
Which now deceiveth me
of my best fortunes:
All that same gallant traine
Which I did then maintaine,
Holds me now in disdaine
for my vaine folly.

When as Queene Elizabeth
ruld this land, ruld this land;
I trode the honord path
of a brave Courtier:
Offices I had store,
Heapt on me more and more,
And my selfe I in them bore
proud and commanding.

Gone are those golden dayes,
 woe is me woe is me:
Offences many waies
 brought unto trial,
Shewes that disloyaltie
Done to his Majestie,
Judgeth me thus to dye;
 Lord for thy pitie.

But the good graces [th]ere
 of my King, of my King,
Shewd to me many a yeere
Makes my soule heavie
In that his royall Grace
Gave me both time and space
Repentance to embrace:
 now heaven be praised.

Thirteene years in the tower
 have I lien, have I lien,
Before this appoynted houre
 of my lives ending:
Likewise such libertie
Had I unluckily,
To be sent gallantly
 out on a voyage.

But that same voyage then
 prov'd amis prov'd amis
Many good gentlemen
 lost their good fortunes:
All that with me did go:
Had sudden overthrow:
My wicked will to show
 gainst my deere Countrey.

When I returned backe,
 hoping grace, hoping grace.
The tower againe alacke
 was my abiding:
Where for offences past
My life againe was cast
Woe on woe followed fast
 to my confusion.

It plea'sd my royall King
 thus to doe, thus to doe,
That his peeres should me bring
 to my lives judgement,
The Lieutenant of the tower
Kept me fast in his power,
Till the appointed hour:
 of my remooving.

THE SECOND PART

To Westminster then was I
 garded strong, garded strong
Where many a wandring eye
 saw me convayed
Where I a Judgment had,
 for my offences bad,
Which was to loose my head,
 there the next morning.

So to the Gatehouse there,
 was I sent, was I sent,
By knights and gentlemen,
 guarding me safely,
Where all that wofull night,
My heart tooke no delight:
Such is the heavie plight
 of a poore prisoner.

Calling then to my mind,
all my joyes, all my joyes,
Whereto I was inclind,
living in pleasures:
All those dayes past and gon,
Brings me now care and mone
Being thus overthrowne,
by mine owne folly.

When the sad morning came
I should die, I should die:
O what a fright of shame:
fild up my bosome:
My heart did almost breake,
When I heard people speake,
I shold my ending make
as a vile traitor.

I thought my fortunes hard
when I saw, when I saw
In the faire pallace yard
a scaffold prepared:
My loathed life to end:
On which I did ascend
Having at all no friend
there to grant mercy.

Kneeling downe on my knee,
willingly, willingly,
Prayed for his Majestie
long to continue:
And for his Nobles all,
With subjects great and small,
Let this my wofull fall
be a fit warning.

And you that hither come
thus to see, thus to see
My most unhappy doome
pittie my ending.
A Christian true I die:
Papistrie I defie,
Nor never Atheist I
as is reported.

You Lords and knights also
in this place, in this place
Some gentle love bestow
pity my falling:
As I rose suddenly
Up to great dignitie,
So I deservedly
die for my folly.

Farewell my loving wife
 woe is me, woe is me:
Mourneful wil bee thy life
Left a sad widdow.
Farewell my children sweet,
We never more shall meet
Till we each other greet
 blessed in heaven.

With this my dying knell
 willingly, willingly,
Bid I the world farewell
 full of vaine shadowes
All her deluding showes
Brings my heart naught but woes
Who rightly feeles and knowes
 all her deceivings.

Thus with my dying breath
 doe I kis, doe I kis,
This axe that for my death
 here is provided:
May I feele little paine,
When as it cuts in twaine,
What my life must sustaine
 all her deceivings.

My head on block is laid,
And my last part is plaid :
Fortune hath me betraid,
Sweet Jesus grant mercy,
Thou that my headsman art,
when thou list, when thou list,
Without feare doe thy part
I am prepared :

Thus here my end I take
Farewel world, farewel world,
And my last will I make,
climbing to heaven :
For this my offence,
I die with true penitence,
Jesus receive me hence :
farewell sweet England.

London Printed for Philip Birch and are to be sold
at his shop at the Guyld-hall.

BONNER & CO.,

1, 2 & 3, ROLLS PASSAGE, AND 38, CURSITOR STREET,

LONDON, E.C.4.

